159 attempt to open up communications between Lei-po and Huang-
622 mao Kang. He used all means to make friends with the Lolo of
557 the En-cha branch to expand his influence. Furthermore, be-
177 cause of his Sinicization, he adopted the Chinese custom of worshipping ancestors both in the direct and the indirect lines [i. e., the line of his granduncle, as well as the line of his
[595] father]. Besides his first wife from the Li-ch'ü family, he took another wife from the Wu-ch'i family in the hope of continuing his granduncle's lineage, making his second wife stay with his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family. Hsing-min had good connections with different Lolo branches and his reputation and influence grew day by day. The strong family background of his two wives further enhanced his influence. Because of his multi-connections with the Lolo and Han-Chinese, he became one of the very successful Lolo leaders. Whenever the Han-Chinese living in the Lei-po area mention Hu Hsing-min's name, they all show great respect and admiration for him.

621 Wu-chio is quite different from other un-Sinicized Lolo
177 areas in that it is near a Chinese city and has been developed
563 by the Han-Chinese. Its inhabitants are all Sinicized Lolo with occasionally some Han-Chinese families living amidst the Lolo, so that it can hardly fail to have Chinese influence in its social organization. It is an important communication center between the Lolo and Han-Chinese, as well as an important pass to Taliang Shan. [22] As such, it will be difficult to reduce the tension between the two groups without an intelligent and capable leader in charge of the place. Hu Hsing-min died about five or
614 six years ago and was survived by two wives and their young
622 children. The wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih) had
627 two young daughters, and the wife from Wu-ch'i (Wu-ch'i shih) had a son still in infancy. Trouble soon started with the loss of the great family leader. Hsing-min had a younger uncle
[581 [see footnote, p. 25] in the paternal clan by the name of Hu
587] Ch'ang-pao, who intended to marry Li-ch'ü shih in order to succeed to Hsing-min's position. According to Lolo custom, the wife, after her husband's death, could marry his brother, his paternal younger uncle, his brother's son, or others. But
[674] Li-ch'ü shih did not want to remarry, and so she secretly asked her younger brother to kill Ch'ang-pao. The latter's family was weak and had no male member, but his elder maternal cousin [mother's elder brother's son], named Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, announced that he would avenge Ch'ang-pao's death and led his clan members to Wu-chio to engage in a feud. There were several attacks and counterattacks with casualties on

younger brothers' wives are also ego's elder and younger sisters. Since originally wife's elder and younger sisters and ego's elder and younger brothers are cross cousins and so have priority in the marriage relationship, wife's elder and younger sisters' husbands are also ego's elder and younger brothers.

[35] [Chart 3 appears here]

From the standpoint of a woman as ego, as soon as she is married into her husband's clan, her terms of address for the kin of her husband's clan form another system (for a general outline of this system, see Chart 4).

[36] [Chart 4 appears here]

"Husband" and "wife" are two terms of indirect address; as they do not address each other face to face, there are no special terms of direct address. But after they have children, they may follow the children's example by the wife's addressing the husband as father and the husband's addressing the wife as mother. On the wife's side, the terms of address for her husband's parents are the same as those for her father's sister and father's sister's husband, but because of avoidance between daughter-in-law and father-in-law [37], the two rarely address each other directly. On account of her marriage into her mother's brother's family, she sometimes calls her parents-in-law maternal uncle and aunt. By following her husband's example, she addresses his elder and younger brothers as elder and younger brothers, but she calls their wives elder and younger sisters. This is because her elder and younger sisters are married to her husband's elder and younger brothers; custom dictates that even though the wives of her husband's elder and younger brothers are not her own elder and younger sisters, they are still addressed as sisters. In cases where a man has more than one wife, wives and concubines call one another sister. The relationship between a wife and her husband's sister is a mi a sa in the Lolo language; a mi actually is used by [the husband's] younger brother and sister as a term for elder brother's wife, and a sa is an address term used [by the wife] for her father's sister's daughter. To call husband's elder and younger sisters by the same term as father's sister's daughter is another instance of a man's mother's brother's daughter being married into her father's sister's family. By referring to Appendix 1, "Lolo Terms of Direct Address," Table 5, it is apparent that the terms of direct address between a wife and her husband's sisters [Chart 5 appears here] [38] vary slightly. The eldest among them is called a sa, whether it be for sister to call first elder brother's wife or for wife to

587 shih, whose parents' family lives in En-cha-wa-hsi. She was first married to the son of Lao-mu's paternal grandfather's younger brother in the Li-ch'ü branch, and bore him a son named Lo-t'ieh. Now twenty years old, Lo-t'ieh is Lao-mu's cousin and only five years younger than Lao-mu. At the time En-cha shih's first husband died, her son Lo-t'ieh was still very young. According to the custom of the levirate, she remarried and became the wife of Lao-mu's father's younger brother, to whom she bore one son now fourteen years old and one girl now eight years old. Four years ago, when his paternal younger uncle died, Lao-mu married the widow, who again gave birth to a female child. So En-cha shih has married three times, but all within her first husband's clan. Her family status and position change each time according to those of her new husband. As to her children, they are ranked according to their father's generation. Thus, Lo-t'ieh is of the same generation as Lao-mu; he has also inherited from his deceased father a house of his own. The children of Lao-mu's paternal uncle now board in the house of Lao-mu's father, Yo-ha. Since his marriage, Lao-mu has a house and an independent family unit of his own.

Marriage transference of a widow is limited mainly to the clan kin of her deceased husband's generation or to his father's younger brother, his brother's son, and others. In the Liang Shan area, there are, however, also cases of the father's marrying son's wife or the son's marrying father's concubine. Cases have even been reported of the grandfather's marrying grandson's wife, but the author never witnessed such a case during his current inspection trip.

The Lolo population is so small that the tradition of marriage transference within the clan branch may also serve the function of solving the population and sex problem. From the standpoint of demography, a woman's remarriage increases the chances for her to have children and clan progeny. From the standpoint of sex, a woman can continue to remarry within the clan after her husband's death — no matter how many husbands she has had — while a man can take a young girl outside the clan or a widow of his own clan for a second wife after the death of the first. For this reason, the Lolo, [589] whether male or female, can have sexual fulfillment in life and there are no widows or widowers in Lolo society.

● 595 Sixthly, monogamy is the general marriage pattern of the Lolo. Occasionally, but very seldom, they practice polygyny, which moreover is limited to Lolo chiefs and [554] wealthy families

596 wealthy families. Polyandry is prohibited in Lolo society; but because of their loose sexual concept, polyandry is sometimes secretly practiced. Young girls in their teens could have free [836] love and intercourse with young men, especially male cross-cousins with whom they disport and have fun. This will be discussed in more detail later on.

595 [55] Polygyny is often motivated by the political ambi-
557 tion of Lolo leaders who want to expand their influence through the connections of their wives' families. Hu Hsing-min, for example, was one of them. Considering that the influence of Li-ch'ü shih's branch alone was not strong enough for him, he also married Wu-ch'i shih to increase his power and status through connection with the Wu-ch'i branch. In a Lolo polyg-
595 nous family, wives have equal social status. They call each other sisters. Without regard to their own ages, the first wife is the elder sister and the second wife the younger sister. Each wife has a separate household and property, unlike the Han-Chinese, among whom wife and concubine stay together but have unequal social position. Before the Lolo man takes a second wife, he has to appease his first wife by offering her oxen or sheep, or sometimes a horse. He also has to reach [607] an understanding with his wife's brothers by entertaining them with food and wine. Without their consent in advance, he may run into trouble and have disputes that will develop into a clan feud.

581 As a whole, these marriage practices not only regulate the Lolo's sexual life and their kinship and clan structure, but also their daily behavior and even their political and economic activities. The marriage relationship has the same importance in Lolo society as in other societies. Marriage is the biggest event and the most important transitional stage in life as a young man and woman go from love to marriage and from marriage to the establishment of the family.

000 Adolescence is the beginning of the sexual period, during which, no matter whether male or female, all are eager to act. But every society has its own traditions, and the behavior of the male and female is subject to their influence.
582 Lolo customs prefer early marriage. The woman's marriageable age is usually odd-numbered, the favored age being nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen. During
302 her childhood the girl usually keeps her hair in a single braid
884 behind the head. At the time of marriage, she changes her hair style to two braids doubled up on the head. Therefore, a double braid and a single braid serve respectively as symbols of the married and unmarried women. But if a girl is

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

622 remarkable man. He treated me most hospitably, buts howed stern hostility to the work I was doing. I found him a man of thirty-three years of age, and a great drinker of spirits and smoker of opium. He had had four Nosu wives, who were all dead, and had married three others, who were still living. Among the many questions we discussed was the "woman" question. He saw me writing a letter to my wife which I wished to send back from his castle. He laughed at me for doing this and derided me as a man who was afraid of his wife. I smiled, and wondered what would have happened had he had a wife such as I had. A little later on he retrieved the situation. He had been reading a small medical book giving advice to mothers on the bringing up of little children. When he saw that the title-page bore the Chinese name of the woman he accused me of being afraid of, he remarked: "Well, if I had a wife who could write a book like that I also would respect her."

[595] When he described to me the stern way in which he ruled 622 his harem I suggested that some of the women might imitate 628 the Chinese women and seek refuge from their hard lot in suicide. He flared up at the suggestion, and said he would cut in pieces any wife of his that dared to attempt such tricks. He told me that he and his wives all slept in one room, where arms of several kinds are kept in readiness to deal with any sudden or treacherous attack. Having killed so many of his enemies in his many fights, he is always afraid of revenge, and so never quits his arms night or day. The bedroom is well loopholed, and there are guns kept constantly loaded. The wives have also been trained to load these weapons that they may be of assistance in time of need. From his windows this Earth Eye can overlook a lot of

/171 cont'd/

L 582 591 P. 161: Thus it is at least when children are married at the age of 16 or 18 years. Unfortunately, the Lo-lo P'o also have the detestable habit of marrying their children from the age of ten or 12 years and /172/ even often earlier, from the age of four or six years. In this case, the children do not sleep together after the marriage. Generally even, the girl returns to her parents in the evening. About the age of 16 years they will have the girl come back. It is a rare thing for her to come back to have relations with her husband; on the average 98 out of 100 girls thus married do not want their husbands and seek a lover. The girl stays at her husband's home, and it is at his home that her lover comes each night, while the husband goes to spend the night with another woman. And note it well, although the wife works with her husband and eats at the same table, under no circumstances would she have relations with him.

L 595 In most of the Lo-lo tribes in Yunnan, polygamy is not practiced (exception made for the t'ou-se), except in the very rare cases where the first wife is sterile. In this case the husband, together with his first wife, chooses a second one.

/173/ Conclusion

The Principal Rite of Marriage

Mo [101] 121 After studying marriage among the T'ou-jen, it is wholly natural to wonder what is the principal rite of marriage.

Since the T'ou-jen with whom we deal are an amalgamation of true Mongols and of Mongolized Cha-t'ouo, it seems that to solve this problem it is necessary to compare the marriage ceremonies practiced among the T'ou-jen with those in use among the Mongols or the groups of Mongolized peoples; and that, moreover, one must take into account the civilizations of the neighboring peoples, which have been able to change or influence ways and customs either in the past or in the present. Thus one can hope to discover a ceremony practiced by all the groups in all marriages from the most solemn to the simplest.

[180 cont.]

583 off his fiancée, but he must later pay a double dowry.

595 The "Lolo" generally have only a single wife.

684 Adultery is punished by death.

764 The dead "Lolo" is dressed in his finest clothes and then immediately afterwards placed on his bier. The coffin is kept for three days in the house in which the death took place. The burial is done the fourth day. Only the relatives take part in this ceremony. A fire is lighted on the grave as soon as the trench is [181] filled in. This fire is cared for by the relatives for nine days, if the deceased is a man, eight days for a woman, six days for a child. The grave then is abandoned and no one pays any further attention to it.

184 764 Some "Lolo" tribes follow slightly different customs. Among the "K'an-t'éou-lolo" ("Lolo" head-cutters), the corpses are dug up at the end of three years. The head is removed from the body and placed in a little wooden chest, which is placed in full view on a neighboring rock. (Photo 348, Plate 44, shows rocks which the inhabitants of the region call "rocks of the tombs," on which are still found heads of "K'an-t'éou-lolo" coming from a hamlet of this tribe which moved away thirty years before.) (Southwest of Pha-Long.)

Other tribes bury their dead without coffins and place upon the corpse a long, hollow, vertical piece of bamboo which sticks out on top of the mound. The relatives from time to time verify the state of decomposition of the corpse, by coming and smelling the emanations at the upper end of the bamboo. When there is no further odor, the corpse is dug up, and the bones are placed in a small chest, which is exposed as has been described above for the "K'an-t'éou."

771 177 The "Lolo" of Tonkin, properly speaking, have neither religion nor peculiar beliefs. They have adopted those of their nearest neighbors, either "Méo," "Man," or "Thai." They believe in the evil spirits but do not fear them to the same extent as do the "Thai."

769 778 They observe ancestral worship strictly enough. On the ancestral altar the dead are represented in the following manner: branches of orchids, cut to a length of seven knots for a man and